5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
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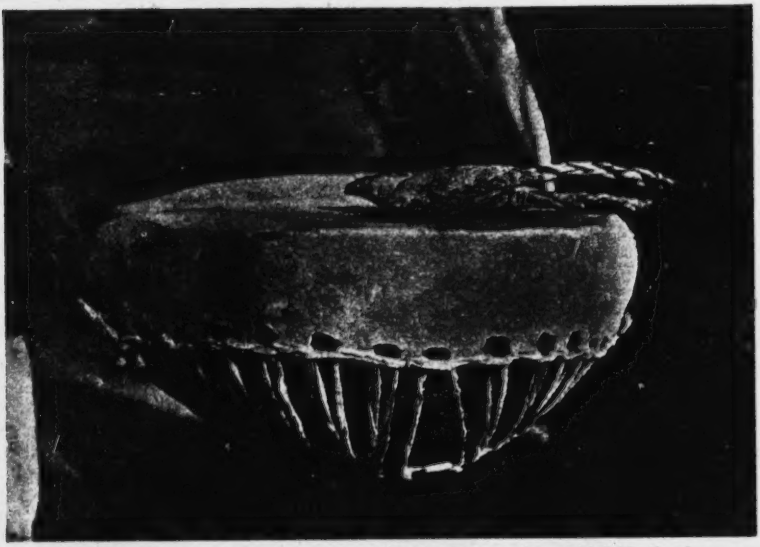

Fig. 6.–The drum which is the only insignia of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. Similar drums are found in all Tuareg groups.

614 past, as nowadays, the proper successor to chieftainship was the deceased chief's
[174] son. This rule of succession is no doubt due to Islamic influence which, as mentioned, has introduced patrilineal succession among the Ioullemmeden Tuareg and also in various clans of the religious class of *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). I think there can be no doubt that succession among the Air Tuareg was originally matrilineal and that most possibly a sister's son was considered the proper successor to chieftainship.

The Political System of the Kel Ferouan.

634 The important noble clans of the Kel Ferouan drum-group, namely the true Kel
[614] Ferouan (or Iraouatten) and the Kel Azel, are said to be matrilineally related, as
[173] the ancestress of the Kel Azel was a woman of the Kel Ferouan clan. She married, tradition says, an Arab who was killed at her own request.

The chief of the noble Kel Ferouan clan had the only drum of the whole group
[202] of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal clans but also by the noble Kel Azel.
778 The drum, which may still be seen in the camp of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, is
534 made of wood and covered with skin (fig. 6). It is believed that it has a mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced the man charged with this task would do it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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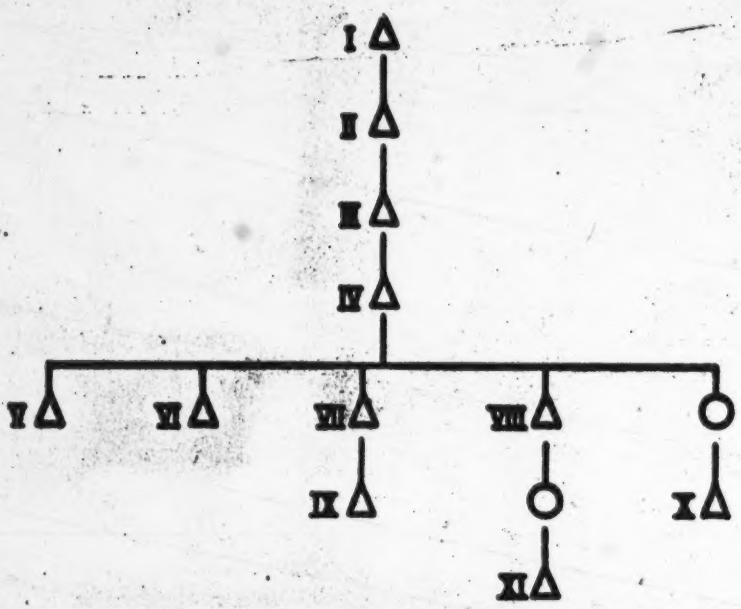

Fig. 7.–Succession of drum-chiefs in the small drum-group of Echchikhen living in Damergou south of the Air Massif.

blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. 778 534

Matrilineally related to the Kel Ferouan are also the Echchikhen clan of Damergou, as its ancestress was a noble woman from the Kel Ferouan. But patrilineally the Echchikhen seem to be related to Iforas Tuareg of religious status. The chief of the Echchikhen has a drum of his own as he has the right over a few vassal clans of Damergou, namely the Imasoren, Khamedan, Ekanaouen, and Iraouelen – clans said to be poor and in part subsisting as hunters. Among the Echchikhen I was able to collect a list of drumchiefs who have been chosen mainly according to the patrilineal principle (fig. 7). A new chief of the drum-group had just been elected, and he had no ties of kinship with the Echchikhen. He belonged to the Kel Geres group, and the prominent noble Echchikhen Tuareg were very sorry and infuriated about his election, as they wanted a man from their own clan to take over the leadership of the whole drum-group. But they could do nothing about it as the chief can be elected only by his vassals. 634 [614]

This same principle is and was valid for the election of drum-chiefs in the Kel Ferouan group – they have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, who after the French occupation have also elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble Kel Ferouan clan. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, but the noble Kel Ferouan unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their [177] 173 634

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The present drum-chief and his brother know the names of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent chiefs are not known further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:–

Sabenas, the ancestress of the noble clan and the first ruler of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

Amenokal, the elder son of Sabenas.

Mohammed Aman, the younger brother of Amenokal.

Elkarebi, the brother of Mohammed Aman.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:–

Boboker, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan and was of pure noble origin.

Ṛali, who was the younger brother of Boboker. He was drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years and to have died about 30 years ago. He was considered a very skillful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group with profound respect. Ṛali's tomb is south of the massif somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On Ṛali's death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief and eaten close to the tomb. Later there was a prayer led by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the deceased chief. – Ancestral worship of this type is most probably no traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. Tuareg are generally afraid of deceased persons and will avoid their tombs.

Mohammed, who belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan through his mother, while his father came from the Ifoṛas. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was no close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief, Ṛali.

Ouanarli, who had no bonds of kinship with the Kel Ferouan clan. His father belonged to the religious and in Tuareg opinion very holy clan of Kel Es Souk. He was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

Afanou, who belonged to the Echchikhen. He died after one year's reign.

Koutia, who was of noble Kel Ferouan stock being the son of Ṛali's younger brother.

Agg Elkher, of pure noble origin being the son of Ṛali's daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected. He is the present drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan group.

Azerhar, who was the son of Rali.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

Agg Elkher, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that [643] in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little [431] authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal [178] chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:- 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Teouit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

particular case is related of a group of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

3) *Ekachchadi*, that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual fee termed *sadaḳa*. This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble households of the Kel Azel clan. The sadaḳa fees were collected on behalf of the drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment of sadaḳa. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:–

Size of Herd.	*Sada a.*
10 camels	2 goats
15 camels	3 goats
25 camels	1 young camel
50 camels	1 full-grown camel
100 camels	2 full-grown camels.

The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaḳa animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edeist)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two

Groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of the Sahara.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:- pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relationship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

607 of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(alegges*, pl. *ilousan)*, or sisters-in-law *(taleggest*, pl. *tilousin)*, while the spouses of descendants of all brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(aḍeggal*, pl. *iḍoulan)*, or daughters-in-law *(taḍeggalt*, pl. *teḍoulin)*. These terms are always used reciprocally, and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related to the Ihaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

It is said that in the 19th century all Tuareg groups of Air and adjacent regions paid an annual tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as follows:– 634 651

Kel Ouï	50 Tuareg veils
Kel Fadei	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Echchikhen	two groups each giving 3 oryx hides
Kel Geres	1 horse with a saddle
Ioullemmeden	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Kel Allekot	150 kg of millet
Damergou Katsena	An amount of millet

The Tuareg name for these payments is *toouse* meaning "annual tribute". The present drum-chief says that this tribute was given by the groups because all land belonged to the Kel Ferouan group. I think that the correctness of this is perhaps to be doubted, and that there may be other possible explanations:– 1) The payments may at some remote date have been made to the Sultan (Amenokal), but later collected by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became more important or, more possibly 2) they may have been given to the drum-chief for protection. Thus annual duties, termed *tioua* by the Northern Tuareg, were formerly given by foreign Tuareg groups to mighty chiefs of Ahaggar to avoid raids (cf. p. 113). [423] [174]

The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim that in the remote past the whole drum-group of Kel Fadei including its noble clan paid bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as his vassals. This vassalship of the Kel Fadei is said to have ceased in the following way:– The Kel Ferouan drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a Kel Fadei camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the Kel Fadei camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the Kel Fadei. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the Kel Fadei so that after a time he could return safely to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the Kel Fadei Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan. 173

The political system of the Kel Ferouan group may be characterised as simple, all political rights resting in the hands of the drum-chief. He had no particular ministers or deputies, but he would discuss important matters with noble Tuareg of his camp and with the chiefs of vassal clans. 634

It has been mentioned above that the Kel Akarra clan in the past had one 634 614

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

634 565 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzouren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had constantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

[463] [701]

114 565 614 Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)* as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:- "One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

[422] [672] [567]

174 565 614 Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin. 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

	Noble Clans		Vassal Clans	Iseḳḳemaren Clans	
The Tegehe-Mellet Drum-Group	*Tegehe Mellet*	35	*Kel Terha* (part of the Ait Loaiten clan of the Kel Rela drum-group).	*Kel Tenourit* *Kel Oubet*	60 70
Noble Clans Without Vassals	*Kel Ehen Mellen*		The Iseḳḳemaren clans are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan.		
	Ikadeien		Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit.		

The Kel Rela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.

The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals (Lhote 1953, p. 157) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble class termed *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imrad*, (sing. *Amrid*) or *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), there is also a class termed *Iseḳḳemaren* (sing. *Aseḳḳemar*), who can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Ineslemen* (sing. *Anesslem*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organization.

There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in other words three drum-groups *(ettebel*, pl. *ettebelen)*, namely those of Kel Rela, Taitoḳ, and Tegehe Mellet. The Kel Rela group is by far the most important, and its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which constitute a sort of federation named *tegehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups. For long periods of the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitoḳ, who had acquired a practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land inhabited by the Taitoḳ drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other drum-chiefs *(Amrar*, pl. *Imraren)* were elected by the vassals of their respective drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence, but – contrary to former opinions on the matter – they did not have any direct voice in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the Iseḳḳemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel Rela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

or a large chopping knife of European origin; (4) Holes are dug with one of the implements mentioned in front of the bed and behind it, and the curved wooden pieces forming the arches are placed in these holes and are lashed together at their upper ends. These holes are 0.30–0.35 m deep; (5) Holes of the same depth are dug for the vertical sticks which support the cross-bars at both sides of the arches, the cross-bars being attached to the vertical sticks by means of cords; (6) A long cord is wound around the high middle arch so that the cord forms tight loops along the upper part of the arch; (7) The slender semi-arches, each consisting of two rods, are placed in the loops of the middle arch from both ends; (8) The thick ends of these rods are attached to the cross-bars with cords; (9) The upper ends of these rods are attached to each other to form semi-arches, and the wooden structure is now finished; (10) Two mats of the *ewerwer* type, which form the inner layer of the roof, are laid over the semi-arches; (11) Dum palm mats of oval shape are placed upon these mats; (12) A long and narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent following its longitudinal direction; (13) The mats are fastened to the wooden structure by means of a cord running over the high central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the dwelling; (14) An oval dum palm mat is placed on each side of the high central arch, and these two mats are fastened to the wooden structure with cords attached to the two lower middle arches; (15) A long narrow dum palm mat is drawn over the tent along the high middle arch at a right angle to the longitudinal direction; (16) All mats covering the upper structure of the tent are finally fastened by means of a cord system running all over the roof and attached to the horizontal cross-bars and the lower parts of the arches; (17) The long narrow dum palm mat is drawn around the lower part of the tent if considered necessary.

The mat tent is normally erected as here described, but all women do not erect their tents exactly in the order mentioned. The work seems to be very easy to the women who measure no distances. They seem to carry out their work automatically. I have not been able to control the amount of time needed for one or two women to erect a mat tent of the type mentioned, for the women are frequently interrupted in their work by many other household duties, by their crying babies, or by visitors from other camps, but I believe that one woman can erect this elaborate tent structure in about half an hour.

There are some mat tents which are slightly different in structure from the above-mentioned tent. These are mentioned below:—

B.1.b. Tents which are larger and have a more elaborate structure. Such tents are rare and are found mainly in the camps of chiefs. They may have four or five arches and a larger number of semi-arches than other tents. I have seen very large tents in the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and the largest tent I have seen was that of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief. It contained two large beds and measured about 6.00 × 3.50 m; it was over two metres high at the middle arch.

Mat tents of a less elaborate structure are not so rare. The following types can be mentioned:—

B.1.c. A tent structurally identical with B.1.a with the exception that it has only two arches which are of equal height. These arches are then both known by the term *tekkekkewatin* (sing. *tekkekkewat*). Tents of this type with only two arches seem to be common among the *Iforas* tribes of Southern Ayr.

B.1.d. A tent with two slender arches of equal height, secured in an erect position by means of cords from the middle of the arches to the middle of the horizontal cross-bars. This is not a common type, and I have seen only one such dwelling in a vassal camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

[Text continues on p. 356]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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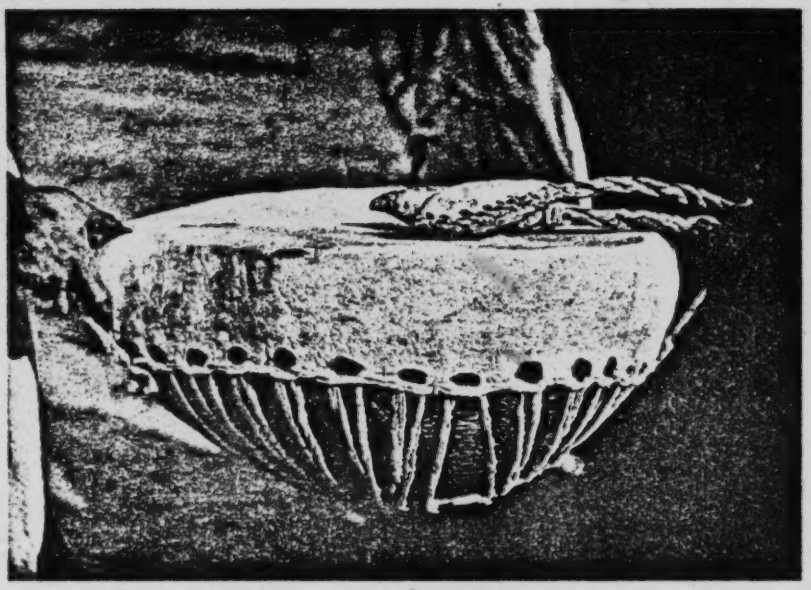

Fig. 285. The drum (*ettebel*) which is the only insignia of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. Similar drums are found in other Tuareg groups.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Isekkemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were later placed under the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Tégehé Mellet*. The *Isekkemaren*, as we shall see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern Tuareg as *Kel Ulli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir* between the three noble tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Tégehé Mellet* is most interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Tégehé Mellet* while the tribe known as *Imesiliten* was divided into the *Dag Ṛali* for the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Kel Ahnet* for the *Taytoḳ*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes, but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Ṛela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted to the *Taytoḳ*, while the *Tégehé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Tégehé Mellet* these noble tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *tégehé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed so-called drum-groups or *ettebelen* (sing. *ettebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum known as *ettebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the supreme political and judical authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups that of the *Kel Ṛela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytoḳ* and the *Tégehé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaṛen*), which word is that generally used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group had the title of *Amenukal* as the chief of the whole *tégehé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytoḳ* and *Tégehé Mellet* were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his office by a Tuareg from one of the *Isekkemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal* was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day, was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal*'s camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs, but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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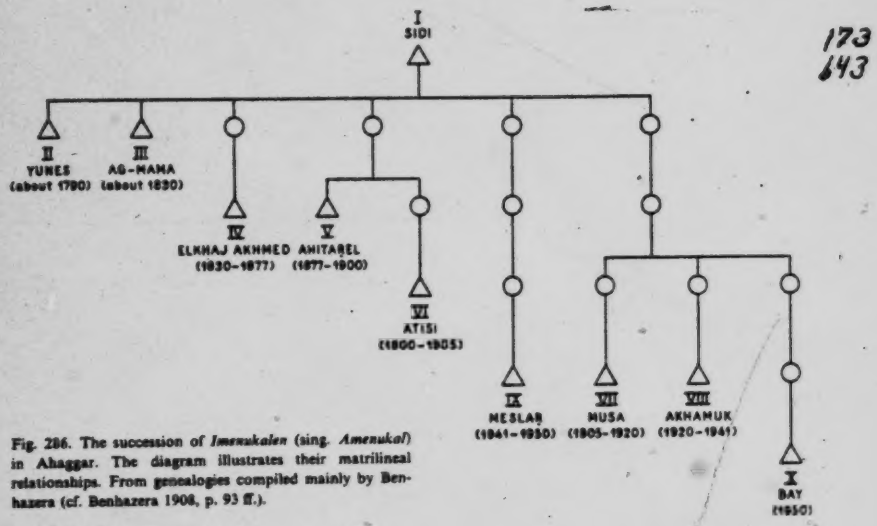

Fig. 286. The succession of *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in Ahaggar. The diagram illustrates their matrilineal relationships. From genealogies compiled mainly by Benhazera (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 93 ff.).

drum-groups. The drum-chiefs alone were responsible for the election of vassal chiefs within their groups. The two other drum-groups were largely independent of the *Amenukal*, though the latter was considered the supreme judge in all matters which involved the whole federation, as he was the supreme war leader when the three groups united to fight other groups. It seems as if the *Amenukal* also had a certain religious prestige, and even to-day he goes to the Cherif of Issilessekin once every summer to ask the Cherif to intercede for him with Allah that the rain may fall and the she-camels be fruitful (cf. Morel 1947, p. 129). But the position of the *Amenukal* was very far from that of a divine king. Throughout the 19th century there were long periods in which the two other drum-groups cared very little for the *Amenukal*'s authority, and the *Taytoḳ* and the *Kel Ḍela*, though related to each other, were for long periods engaged in mutual quarrels.

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In discussing the position of the *Amenukal* as the supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg, we come to the question whether he was the true owner or commander of the whole country inhabited by the three drum-groups. On this question I have gathered much conflicting information. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ḍela* group, including the *Amenukal*, claim that in the past as at the present day the *Amenukal* had rights over the whole country of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while certain other Tuareg, including some old vassals of the *Kel Ḍela* group, say that the two other drum-groups possessed their own territories, the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* holding all rights over the country of Ahnet with adjacent sections of the western lowland of Ahaggar where some of the *Taytoḳ* vassals lived. I believe that this latter explanation is true and that throughout the 19th century the *Amenukal* was only the

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

	Noble tribes		Vassal tribes		*Isekkemaren* tribes	
The *Kel Rela* Drum-Group	*Kel Rela*	275	*Dag Rali*	386	*Iheyawen Hoda*	253
			Ayt Lowayen	400	*Kel Inrer*	176
			Aguh-en-tehlé	585	*Kel Téfedest*	61
			Relayddin	40	*Kel Immidir*	179
			Iklan-en-tawsit	500	*Kel Tazulet*	158
			Ibettenaten	129		
			Iregenaten	435		
	To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Iforas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Rela* women, like noble women of the *Urayen* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes.		These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Iregenaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs.		The *Isekkemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahem-mellen* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Hammu*, claims that they were originally their vassals.	

territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Rela* drum-group. He had the right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytok* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytok* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytok* group.

To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*ehéré-n-amadal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

	Noble tribes	Vassal tribes	*Isəkkəmaren* tribes
The *Taytoḳ* Drum-Group	*Taytoḳ* 33 There are hardly any Tuareg of pure *Taytoḳ* stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief *Mokhammed ag Mokhammed* who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The *Taytoḳ* and their vassals frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past.	*Kel Ahnet* 127 *Iwerweren* 47 *Tégehé-n-Efis* 127 *Ikuttsen* 84 *Ikechchemaden* (now mixed with the *Dag Rali* tribe of the *Kel Rela* drum-group). *Irechchumen* A tribe patrilineally related to the noble *Taytoḳ*, matrilineally to the vassal tribe of *Kel Ahnet*. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals.	*Kel I-n-tunin* (about 20 tents in 1938).
The *Tégehé-Mellet* Drum-Group	*Tégehé Mellet* 33	*Kel Turha* (part of the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe of the *Kel Rela* drum-group).	*Kel Terurit* 62 *Kel Uhet* 70
Noble Tribes Without Vassals	*Kel-ahem-mellen*	The *Isəkkəmaren* tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe	
	Ikadeyen	Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit.	

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amenukal* by people of his drum-group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsi* from all vassal tribes. The size of such *tiwsi* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsi* payments made by the two most important vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aḫsh-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes which make their *tiwsi* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Tayhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment to the *Amenukal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isendan* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
651 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe its collective
614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwsé* as follows:—
613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. – All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this also applies to the *Isekkemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwsé*, are in fact tokens of vassalage,
[634] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
565 vassals. This right was known as *abellaq*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel Rela* drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal
[647] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in the tribe to which the deseased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138). As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief
[649] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*eddiyet*)
634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
[684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
[682] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth
[614] paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. Wher. the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid.
[683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and
[178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
[648] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Rali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Rela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Rela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amrar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsi* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsi* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Rela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsi* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsi* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adrar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Tédali* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *emmehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

The drum-group (*ettebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The federation (*téţehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship (*tehandezzit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ŗela* drum-group there were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is true notably of the *Dag Ŗali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar. People of the *Dag Ŗali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ŗela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The word "*Isekkemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Isekkemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Isekkemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekkemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekkemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Isekkemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Isekkemaren* visiting the *Aguh-en-tehlé*. The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ŗela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ŗela* engage in sham-fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ŗela* and the vassal *Aguh-en-telhé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ŗela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Isekkemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekkemaren* tribes (*Ihayawen Hada, Kel Tazulet*) and the *Aguh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Isekkemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekkemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ŗela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Taytok* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525

noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Rela* drum-group and the *Amenukal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kinship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than in the *Kel Rela* drum-group.

The Kel Rela drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. These relationships were known as *temazlayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a maternal kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *temazlayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imrad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Rela* tribe who were leaders of *temazlayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *temazlayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.).

There are certain traces of *temazlayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwsi* from a group of vassals to the *temazlayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwsi* payments to a noble *temazlayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amenukal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwsi* payment to *Maḳli agg Amayas* of the *Kel Rela* section named *Inamba Kel-Emeyri*, but gives no *tiwsi* to the *Amenukal Bay*, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*ihird-n-amaḍal*) is always paid to the *Amenukal*. I was also told by the *Kel Rela Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwsi* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Agub-en-tehlé*, but as he was now living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amenukal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imrad* class made *tiwsi* payments both to their individual *temazlayt* masters and to the *Amenukal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *temazlayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *temazlayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in the *Kel Rela* group, to the *Amenukal*. The obligations of a noble *temazlayt* master towards his vassals were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *temazlayt* master had the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (*abellag*) taken by

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temaẓlayt* master. However, should a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temaẓlayt* master or another noble Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellaǧ*, comprising half of the booty remaining when one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.

The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temaẓlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Talak. This tradition is acknowledged as true by certain Tuareg of Ayr, but all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that the Sultan has never had any right over the country of Ayr. They state that his Tuareg title of *Amenukal* has nothing to do with *akal* (i.e. "the land"), and that the country of Ayr from the remote past until now has been owned by the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 421). However, if we turn to the information given on this subject by the *Agadez Chronicle*, we learn that until the establishment of the Sultanry it had been customary for the powerful noble tribes to claim a tax of horses from the caravans which passed their particular territories. The first Sultan of Ayr sent a letter to learned people of an Islamic country to ask whether such taxes were lawful or unlawful. And he was answered that these taxes were to be considered good because those who received the taxes protected the very important caravan road between Timbuktu and Cairo. The taxes should therefore be collected by the Sultan who again should give them to the Tuareg (Urvoy 1934, p. 155). Before the arrival of the French the Sultan had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, which is mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, 828 f.), and he was entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade and to annual taxes from the sedentary Negroes of Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt.

The tradition which says that the Sultan descend patrilineally from the Sultan of Constantinople and matrilineally from a slave woman clearly indicates the position of the Sultan in Tuareg society. The Sultan is looked down upon by fair-skinned Tuareg because of his black skin, but he is also endowed with prestige because of his supposed descendance from the Sultan of Constantinople.

A certain *elbaraka* or benediction is ascribed to him, and all people who want to greet the Sultan must remove their sandals. The Sultan is always buried in his palace at Agadez, and it is said that if he was buried outside there would be a great risk that his subjects would dig up his skeleton to use part of it for amulets. It is also said that the Sultan preserves a part of the skeleton of his predecessor for amulets. This must be viewed in connection with the particular power of *elbaraka* attached to the Sultan, and it is important to note that the Sultan is believed to possess an unusual power of fertility, which is secured and maintained until his death by means of certain medicines acquired from the Sudan. Thus it seems as though the Sultan possesses some of the qualities of the Sudanese divine kings, but in practice he has little power. The *Agadez Chronicle* refers to Sultans who acted as war leaders of all Ayr Tuareg against foreign Tuareg groups or the forces of Sudanese states, but within Ayr it was difficult for a Sultan to maintain his power over certain warlike groups of pastoral Tuareg. Leo Africanus writes that the inhabitants of the desert depose and elect Sultans whenever they like (Leo Africanus III, p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have only reigned for very short periods.

Although the Sultan is the supreme chief of all Ayr Tuareg, he does not have the same relationship to all Tuareg groups, for many of them are placed directly under the supreme chief of the *Kel Ewey* group known as the *Anesłafidet*. The *Anesłafidet* originally lived at Asodey in Central Ayr, but he now lives in Agadez where he holds a prominent position as a chief. Like most *Kel Ewey* he is black-skinned and related to the Hausa population of the Southlands, where he lives for a part of the year with the important task of organizing the trade between Ayr and the south. The *Anesłafidet* has always been closely attached to the sedentary Hausa of the Southlands, and is said to have part of his family living at a small village named Blanko between Tanút and Zinder. A new *Anesłafidet* may even be elected

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

from the members of this village. The particular connection between the *Anestafidet* and the sedentary peoples of the Sudan is very natural in view of the fact that the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg nowadays, as in the past, engage much in caravan trading with the south. The name of *Anestafidet* is derived from the tribe *Kel Tafidet* – one of the noble *Kel Ewey* tribes which immigrated to Ayr about the 14th century A.D. The *Anestafidet* has always been a very important chief, and the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, though very mixed with the ancient sedentary population of Ayr Negroes, were for periods in the past very important politically. To-day the *Anestafidet* is the most important chief of Ayr after the Sultan, and it is said that, like a deceased Sultan, a deceased *Anestafidet* should be buried in his house. The *Anestafidet* is treated with respect by all Ayr Tuareg, who take off their sandals when greeting him, and at the beginning of the holy Friday (that is on Thursday night) the professional musicians of Agadez, when they have made music at the Sultan's palace, go to *Anestafidet*'s residence and then to the ministers of the Sultan.

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, who live predominantly in and around the villages of the eastern and most mountainous part of the Ayr Massif, form the majority of the people placed directly under the command of the *Anestafidet*. According to figures given by Nicolas for tribes and villages of the *Kel Ewey* their total number seems now to be about 8000 (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 465 ff.). But placed under the *Anestafidet* are also the pastoral Tuareg group known as *Kel Tamat*. Formerly it had its own drum-chief (*ettebel*) who was also the supreme chief of the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg. The group of *Kel Tamat*, with the *Ikezkezen*, judged by the figures for some of the tribes (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 471 f.), comprise nowadays about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the true *Kel Ewey*.

The *Kel Tamat* do not form a drum-group nowadays. In the past their drum-chief was elected by tribes within the drum-group, but he had to be installed ceremoniously by the *Anestafidet* who presented him with a large headcloth. All people of the *Anestafidet* have to recognize him as their supreme judicial authority. But the *Anestafidet*, who is elected by people of the ancient noble *Kel Ewey* tribes, is submitted to the authority of the Sultan who also installs the *Anestafidet* ceremoniously.

Most Ayr Tuareg who are not placed under the *Anestafidet* are collectively referred to as the *Kel Amenukal*, that is "the people of the *Amenukal* (or Sultan)". Most of these people are pastoralists though some sedentary or semi-sedentary people are also placed in the Sultan's group. The important Tuareg groups placed directly under the Sultan are the following:—

The *Itesen* with the *Immikitan* most of whom left the Massif long before the arrival of the French. In the past both groups formed politically very important drum-groups, and though they were very few in number throughout the 19th century they were nevertheless politically important, as without them a Sultan could not be elected and installed.

The *Kel Faday* in the region of Ingal consist of a noble tribe and eleven tribes of vassals. The *Kel Faday* constituted throughout the 19th century a politically important drum-group though it was very small. Their total number according to Nicolas is now 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The *Kel Ferwan* comprise tribes in the western parts of the Massif including the regions of Agadez, and also south of the Massif in Dumergu. They number about 5000.

The *Kel Geres* Tuareg live in the Southlands around Madawa most of the year but visit Southern Ayr west of Agadez in the rainy season (cf. p. 7, 431 f.). Properly speaking they are not now recognized

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

631 as Ayr Tuareg and are politically independent. Nevertheless they still consider the Sultan of Agadez
643 as their proper *Amenukal*. They are very rich and numerous, comprising a great many tribes. Their
[189] political system differs from that of most other Tuareg. I outline its structure later in this chapter.

634 The drum-chiefs of the *Itésen*, the *Immikitan*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan* have to be rec-
643 ognized and ceremoniously installed by the Sultan. The ceremony should traditionally take place at the Sultan's palace of Agadez, but to-day it is performed at the French Administration Centre. The main feature of the ceremony is the wrapping of a large head-cloth around the elected chief's head by the Sultan. The Sultan, on the other hand, is elected and installed by the chiefs of above-mentioned groups and by the *Anestafidet* as the representative of the *Kel Ewey*. But the chiefs do not take the same part in the election of a Sultan, and it is noteworthy that the *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan*, who throughout the 19th century were extremely powerful and warlike, apparently do not play any rôle in the instalment ceremony.

The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:— From his private room in the palace (Fig. 288) the Sultan is led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Kel Geres* ask him to sit down upon a bed made of ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he is not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission is given by the *Kel Ewey* (Barth 1857, I, p. 461 f.). Jean, who gives a more detailed account, says that the *Kel Geres* do not participate, and have no voice in the election (Jean 1909, p. 159 ff.). I have myself been told during my visit to the *Kel Geres* drum-chief that the *Kel Geres*, represented by their drum-chief, previously took part in the election of the Sultan. As to the position of the powerful drum-groups of *Kel Faday* and *Kel Ferwan*, people of the latter group frequently claim that they alone could elect a Sultan, and I have been told by *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg that a Sultan should be installed in the way that the supreme chiefs of the *Itésen* and the *Immikitan* take the Sultan by his hands and lead him to a sheepskin where he sits down to receive the large head-cloth from the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group. However, it seems as if the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief does not traditionally play any part in the instalment ceremony.

631 In the 19th century the Sultan was the arbitrator and the supreme judge in disagreements between
634 the different Tuareg groups whose supreme chiefs should be installed by the Sultan. But he could
643 not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels. The *Kel Faday* and the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs did not always pay much respect to the Sultan. At the time of the French occupation of Ayr the *Kel Faday* even had the impertinence to collect the Sultan's dues from the village of Ingal (Jean 1909, p. 162), and Barth mentions that the Sultan was much afraid that the *Kel Faday* would detach themselves from him to make an alliance with the *Iwllemmeden* (Barth 1857 58, I, p. 478). As to the *Kel Ferwan*, their chief was the most prominent leader of all Ayr. This is clearly documented by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 103 f.) and it is repeated over and over again by all Tuareg of Ayr to-day. Barth states that the Sultan when away from Agadez on journeys was replaced by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief, and he thinks that the *Kel Ferwan* originally formed the noble family from which the Sultan or *Amenukal* was chosen (Barth 1857, I, p. 385). This
[123] agrees with information I have gathered among the noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group. It is however most difficult to judge the value of these traditions as it is difficult to reconstruct political life in pre-European times. All Tuareg try to glorify their own political rôle in the past, and this is particularly true of the noble Kel Ferwan Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

634 614 [114] Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore [162] quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

178 634 648 The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared, and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to

121 634 115 be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr, where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

173 614 634 The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*, and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

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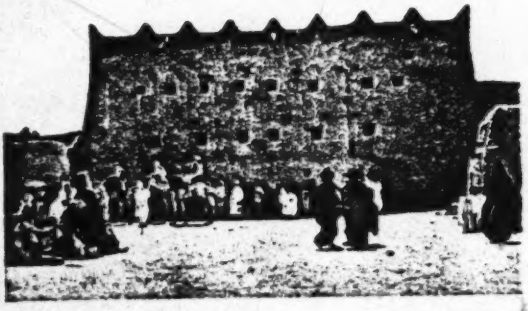

Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

according to which the ancestresses of the two noble tribes came from *Awjila* together with a third sister, who became the ancestress of the *Iberdyanen*. This story runs as follows:—

The three sisters left their original homeland of Awjila riding on bull-camels. One night when the girls were not very far from Iferwan and the three sisters had gone to sleep, the eldest, named *Sabenas*, awoke before her two sisters and removed the hobble-ropes from their riding camels which disappeared in the desert. Thus the only riding camel left was *Sabenas'*, and when the sisters arrived at Iferwan she alone rode on a bull-camel while her two younger sisters were walking. At Iferwan there was then a mighty chief named *Azeŗezzer*. When the girls arrived there he asked them who they were, and *Sabenas* said that one of the two girls who travelled on foot was her sister, but not her true sister, while the other girl was her *tameŗit* or vassal. The supreme chief *Azeŗezzer* was very eager to marry *Sabenas* as she rode on a bull-camel and consequently was of noble birth. *Sabenas* agreed to marry him on the condition that bride-wealth should be paid in land. And it was agreed that she should have for bride-wealth as much land as she could ride through on her camel at a stretch. She rode off from Iferwan and her camel did not get tired until she was close to Tagedufat south of the Massif. Here *Sabenas* dismounted and threw her stick towards the south. The stick fell down at the well of Tagedufat, and *Sabenas* now had the right to all country ranging from Iferwan in the north to the well of Tagedufat situated in the southern plains. This vast territory has since then been owned by the descendants of *Sabenas* who are the true noble *Kel Ferwan* or *Irawatten*. But the Tuareg of this tribe claim that they have since then greatly augmented their territory so that they are the true owners also of the land south of the Massif as far as Tessawa, which is very close to the frontier of Northern Nigeria.

The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past all Tuareg groups within the *Kel Ferwan* territory and a few other groups of Tuareg and negroid sedentary people paid an annual tribute known as *tewsé* to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. This annual tribute was calculated as follows:—

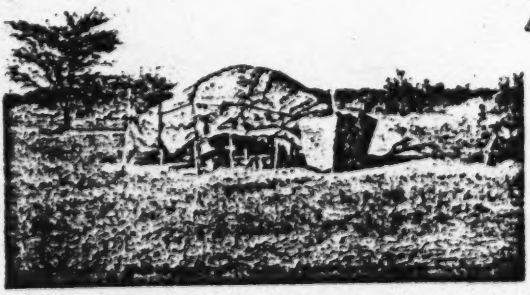

Fig. 229. Mat tent of the B.1.b type inhabited by the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. It is a very simple dwelling compared with the Sultan's palace, containing two storeys and several rooms. Nevertheless the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief in the time preceding the French occupation was politically more important than the Sultan. The photograph is taken in the plains north of Aderbissinat at the end of rains. Annual grasses of a high value for fodder are growing between the scattered acacias, which are also valuable fodder-plants for camels and goats.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Kel Ewey	50 Tuareg veils of indigo cotton
Kel Faday	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Echchikhen	two small drum-groups in Damergu each giving 3 oryx hides, as their vassals were mainly hunters
Kel Geres	1 horse with a saddle
Kel Dennek of the *Iwllemmeden*	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Kel Allekot	150 kg of millet
Damergu & Katsena	An amount of millet

Most of these groups, it is said, paid the annual tribute known as *tewsé* because the land belonged to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. But the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg did not pay an annual tribute for this reason but because they were subdued in wars. It is much to be doubted that these annual tributes were paid regularly to the drum-chief by such warlike groups as the *Kel Dennek* and the *Kel Faday*, who frequently joined forces against the *Kel Ferwan*. As to the *Kel Faday*, the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they were formerly the vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They say that in the remote past the whole drum-group of the *Kel Faday*, including its noble tribe, paid bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief as a token of vassalage, which is said to have ceased in the following way:— The *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a *Kel Faday* camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the *Kel Faday* camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the *Kel Faday*. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the *Kel Faday* so that after a time he could return to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the *Kel Faday* Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan*.

The drum-chief had as an insignia of his political power over all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg a large drum known as *ettebel* (or *aṛezu*). The word *ettebel* was, and is, used not only as a name of the drum but also as a name of the drum-group and the drum-chief whose title of address is *ettebel*, or "drum". This drum had a sacred or mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced, the man charged with this task would perform it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. We see that connected with the drum were certain taboos equivalent to those which are believed to maintain the mystic power of *elbaraka*.

The drum-chief had the only drum of the *Kel Ferwan* group of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal tribes but also by the noble *Kel Azel*. The chief of the *Kel Azel* had the title of *amṛar* or *aṛolla* like all other tribal chiefs, but he was addressed *ettebel* although he did not have the right to a drum.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Tribes of the Kel Ferwan Drum-Group

1. *The Irawatten Group*

Tribes	Number of Individuals (Nicolas 1950b)	& Households	Notes	Traditional Grazing Grounds
Irawatten	350	58	There are to-day very few pure noble Tuareg of this dominant noble tribe, as the members have intermarried with negroid peoples and with the *Kel Geres*. The pure noble house-holds number about ten. The chief is also the chief of the *Irawatten* group and the drum-chief of the whole *Kel Ferwan* group.	Télewa (western part)
Kel Tédalé (3 tribes)	1300		They claim to be of noble descent. They are officially vassals of the *Irawatten*, but are nevertheless very independent politically.	Talaḳ Uraren Zurika
Kel Akerra	164	39	Of noble descent with the *Ibararojiten* as their particular vassals. Intermarry frequently with the *Imezzureg* and with the *Kel Tédalé*.	Ti-n-Teburaḳ
Imezzureg	106	20	Of noble descent and related to the *Kel Akerra* and the *Isakaranan* with whom they intermarry.	Terezzet
Isakaranan	653	107	Of noble descent and related to the *Kel Akerra* and the *Imezzureg*.	Ti-n-Tebezgin
Igendéynen A section of former slaves known as *Tindeku* is grouped together with this tribe.	247	55	Always close to the camp of the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command.	Burhal
Iberdyanen (2 tribes)	621	97	Living close to the noble *Irawatten* as their servants.	Gufat Éknawen Téwendegit
Iḳḳoberen			Living close to the noble *Irawatten* as their servants.	
Ayt Uren	160			Maramaru
Idaléyen	218	67		Telhecham

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

634
614
565
162

Ifadèyen (2 tribes)			Kurubobo Imechchamelawen Turuf Beynabu Ti-n-Dawin Anyalen Abalemma Ékuwél
Elharaten			Anwacher
Ibararojiten		Originally the particular vassals of the *Kel Akerra* tribe.	Endegra
Itagan		Very few in number and without any tribal organization. They are placed directly under the drum-chief as his servants, and are considered a kind of "white slaves" to other *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. In the *Kel Fadey* group there is a tribe of *Itagan* Tuareg. Their traditional homeland is said to be the region of Meneka in the country of the *Western Iullemmeden*.	Eleleg
Irawélen		Pastoral Negroes who in the remote past were slaves of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Culturally they are akin to other Tuareg pastoralists, but they have no tribal organization and are placed directly under the drum-chief's command.	Tombalaga Akadaney Meygawey

2. *The Kel Azel Group*

Tribes	Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b)		Notes	Traditional Grazing Grounds
Kel Azel	180	47	Nowadays very few in number. It is said that there are only four households of pure noble origin.	Anoyaran Tiṛezrin Tafadek Gufat
Imezzuren	162	31		Tiṛezrin

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 · MS25 Tuareg MS25

Kel Tésemt	237		Related to the *Imezzilalen* and the *Ikojjejiten* together with whom they are said to have constituted one tribe.	Assa and eastern part of Télewa
Imezzilalen		27	Related to the *Kel Tésemt*.	Assa and eastern part of Télewa
Ikojjejiten			A section of the *Imezzilalen*.	Afarak
Ifokkar	42	12	Related to the *Kel Tésemt*, the *Imezzilalen*, and the *Ikojjejiten*.	Eastern part of Télewa
Ikenkan	150		Said to have been the particular servants of the noble *Kel Azel*.	
Ijakarkaren	203	41	Said to be related to the *Igendéymen*.	Tafadek
Ifoɣas (2 tribes)	396	95	They came to Ayr from Adɣaɣ of the Ifoɣas about one hundred years ago.	Tédeyin
Iɣawéken			A certain number of these negroid pastoralists, who once in the past were slaves, is placed directly under the command of the chief of the *Kel Azel*. They have no tribal organization. They are probably included in the figure of the *Kel Azel* mentioned above.	

To-day all Tuareg claim that a chief whether a drum-chief or a chief of a vassal tribe should be succeeded by his son, and that a sister's son may inherit the position. These rules have not always been followed in the election of drum-chiefs in the *Kel Ferwan* group, for the drum-chiefs have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, and after the French occupation they have even elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble *Kel Ferwan*. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, but the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The names are known of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent are not remembered further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:—

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Sabenas, the ancestress of the noble *Kel Ferwan* and the first ruler of the drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

Amenukal, the eldest son of *Sabenas*.

Mokhammed Aman, the younger brother of *Amenukal*.

Elkarebi, the younger brother of *Mokhammed Aman*.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:—

Bubeker, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe.

Ɣali, who was the younger brother of *Bubeker*. He was the reigning drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years. He was considered a very skilful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group with profound respect. *Ɣali*'s tomb is south of the Massif, somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On *Ɣali*'s death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the deceased chief. Ancestral worship of this type is most probably not a traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. It should be noted in this context that *Ɣali* was considered a member of the *Echcherifen*, the descendants of the Prophet, through relationship to the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393 ff.).

Mokhammed, who belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* through his mother, while his father came from the *Iforas*. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was not a close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief *Ɣali*.

Wanarli, who had no bonds of kinship with the *Kel Ferwan*. His father belonged to the religious, and, in Tuareg opinion, very holy tribe of *Kel es Suk*. He was very strict with the vassals of his drum-group, and he would never take his food in their company, though other drum-chiefs seem to have been less severe. It is probably for this very reason that he was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

Afanu, who belonged to the *Echchikhen*. He died after one year's reign.

Kuliya, who was of noble *Kel Ferwan* stock, being the son of *Ɣali*'s younger brother.

Agg-Elkhir, of pure noble origin being the son of *Ɣali*'s daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected.

Azeɣor, who was the son of *Ɣali*.

Agg-Elkhir, in his second period of reign. He was the reigning drum-chief during my stay in Ayr 1955. He was then very old, and the French considered his son *Khejji* the actual representative of the drum-group.

Bukha, who is the newly-elected drum-chief. He is the son of *Azeɣor* and the grand-son of the renowned chief *Ɣali*, who was the mother's brother of the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir*. Consequently *Bukha* is a classificatory sister's son of *Agg-Elkhir* (cf. p. 451, Fig. 294). Before the election took place very many Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group had wanted the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir* to be succeeded by his son *Khejji*. On the day of election, when all adult men of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group came

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

together at the French administration post of Agadez, there were two candidates for the office, namely *Bukha* and *Khejji*. Present at the election were the French *Commandant de Cercle*, the Sultan, and other important chiefs. The Sultan requested all men to elect *Bukha* (because *Khejji*'s father *Agg-Elkhir* had scoffed at the Sultan and publicly had called him a slave). Therefore, when the *Commandant* asked the *Kel Ferwan* men to divide into two groups according to whether they wished *Bukha* or *Khejji*, the group of men voting for *Khejji* numbered only four or five men. *Bukha* was thus elected and the Sultan presented him with a large head-cloth and declared him the new *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief.

From what has been said above about the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chiefs it is evident that the drum-chief was elected by the vassals who constitute the majority of the group. But it is very doubtful whether in the past it was normal for a Sultan to advise the vassals to elect a particular Tuareg for drum-chief. For though the drum-chief should then also be installed and recognized by the Sultan, the latter was not strong enough to meddle in the affairs of the drum-group. There are even some noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who claim that in the past the drum-chief should be installed not by the Sultan, but by a vassal Tuareg of the drum-group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But most vassals hold that the drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that in the past, when dissatisfied with a drum-chief, they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him.

In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge, but it seems as if the chief of the *Kel Azel* who was installed by the drum-chief had almost similar judicial rights over his particular vassals. However, any case occurring within the whole *Kel Ferwan* group could be brought before the drum-chief, who in difficult cases would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez, or the *Echchikhen*. Punishments for thefts are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail (*takormut*) in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:— pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of remaining standing. A few old people remember that they have seen this method of punishment practised in Agadez. Punitive measures like imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law, and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* was in fact the true master of Ayr, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison and may also have imposed capital punishment on thieves. Proper theft seems to have been very rare among pastoral Tuareg in the past, but to-day camel-thieves are extremely common in all groups. Some Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any camel thieves who were hanged like dogs.

All members of the *Kel Ferwan* group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities (*édeyet*) were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right to blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man, whose kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Some Tuareg will claim that the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

634 682 livestock of a murderer in reality was the property of the drum-chief. Apparently there has never been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the *Kel Ferwan* in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara.

634 565 651 The token of vassalage among the *Kel Ferwan* was the payment of half of the bride-wealth to the noble lords so that the drum-chief received bride-wealth from his particular group of vassals, the chief of the *Kel Azel* from his group. The two noble lords received other payments from their vassals. They would inherit a camel on the death of an individual vassal, and they received certain annual payments known as *sadakat* or *tamesodek*. This fee in its origin was a religious one, and certain tribes such as the *Imezzureg*, the *Kel Akerra*, and the *Isakaranan* claim that in the past, as nowadays, they made this payment to the *Ineslemen* Tuareg and not to the noble chiefs. But true vassal tribes gave their *sadakat* or *tamesodek* to the two noble lords. The fees were collected on behalf of the lords by people of the *Echchikhen* and by negroid blacksmiths, who are very numerous in Ayr. There were definite rules for the payment of the *sadakat* fees which were computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example the payments for camel herds can here be mentioned:—

Size of herd	*Sadakat* or *tamesodek*
10 camels	2 goats
15 camels	3 goats
25 camels	1 young camel
50 camels	1 full-grown camel
100 camels	2 full-grown camels

1432 1735 The *Echchikhen* and the blacksmiths took the *sadakat* animals to the two noble lords, who gave some of them to the collectors, themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the noble lords, who would keep a small part for themselves.

634 721 565 The two noble lords, the drum-chief and the chief of the *Kel Azel*, had the right to parts of war-booty taken by their vassals according to the following rules:—

(1) *témaggedaz*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the noble lords, the drum-chief or the chief of the *Kel Azel*. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g., riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the noble lords, while the other half should be given to their vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that only one seventh of the booty should go to the noble lord. The word *téfadet* is said to have been used synonymously with *témaggedaz*.

(2) *téwit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the *Kel Ferwan* group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the noble lord would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A particular case is related of a group of *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg attacking a camp of *Kel Ferwan* vassals

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Fadey*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Imeggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *ahabuz* (pl. *ihabuzen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

565 582 634 been told about two such marriages which seem to have been contracted in fairly recent times. I think that the main reason why the noble Tuareg do not marry with their vassals is that such marriages would tend to break down the structure of the political system, as the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many in-laws among vassals to whom the conduct would be institutional joking or avoidance. For in addition to true relatives by marriage there are numerous classificatory ones. This will become clear from the description of the rules of behaviour valid for relatives by marriage.

634 578 614 565 In spite of the application of the rules of joking relationship on a political level, troubles within the drum-group were far from unknown. And it is remarkable that even between the related tribes of *Irawatten* and *Kel Azel* there might be very severe quarrels. There was a latent opposition between them which might occasionally lead to fighting between noble Tuareg of the two groups. The existence within the drum-group of another noble tribe, the *Kel Azel*, with a certain number of vassals was always a danger to the position of the drum-chief as a ruler of the whole [661] *Kel Ferwan* group. And noble Tuareg of the *Irawatten* tribe say that in the past it even happened that the drum-chief punished the *Kel Azel* very severely, not only taking all their livestock, but also burning [701] down their camps. The drum-chief was able to maintain his power over the whole *Kel Ferwan* group because most vassal tribes were placed directly under his command, and because these tribes camped around Agadez which was dominated by him.

The drum-chief also had trouble with another tribe of his group, the *Kel Akerra*. This tribe is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the *Ibararojiten* tribe. In the past the drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group imposed vassalage upon the *Kel Akerra*, who, however, refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the *Kel Akerra* to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the *Kel Akerra* tribe became small and insignificant. It is said that the tribes of *Imezzureg* and *Isakaranan*, who like the *Kel Akerra* are noble by origin, also did not give their bride-wealth to the drum-chief in the past. But the three tribes were vassals in the sense that they had to give part of their war-booty to the drum-chief and could not carry out raids on their own.

[701] A certain discord reigned within the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the drum-chief had the support of most tribes of vassals, who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups, but also quell internal 634 insurrections. However, the three northern tribes of *Kel Tédalé* were so numerous, so rich in camels, 614 and lived so remote from the rest of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes that the drum-chief could not maintain his power over them. They were only nominally part of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the *Kel Tédalé* paid no tribute to other chiefs (Joubert 1939, p. 246), though it is said in Ahaggar that in the past they paid an annual tribute to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. But the *Kel Tédalé* were politically independent of other groups in Ayr, which is also stated by Jean 565 (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim the *Kel Tédalé* to be true vassals of their 614 drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104; Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three tribes the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg I met all emphasized

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by *Kel Ferwan* vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the *Kel Tédalé*. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the *Kel Tédalé* in part are related to the *Ihaḍanaren* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter tribe, though without vassals, is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

As to the origin of vassalage among the *Ayr Tuareg, it is probable that this is due to the meeting* of distinct cultures based mainly on camel-breeding and goat-breeding. Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:— "One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances" (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rôdd, however, also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to mainly by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the particular camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. But I have been told by many Tuareg that there were in the past very few camels in vassal tribes, and though most Tuareg apparently hold the view that the vassals have always had camels, the Sultan *Umar* claims that originally they had none while the noble Tuareg have owned these animals since times immemorial. So it might seem as if the political system of the drum-group in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, was founded upon a class division with its root in the meeting of distinct pastoral cultures. It is a fact that certain vassal tribes were attached to their noble lords as a kind of workers with the duty of performing such work as could not be done properly by negroid slaves. Among these tribes were the *Ikawkan* attached to the *Kel Azel*, and the *Ikkoberen* and the *Iberdyanen* attached to the *Irewatten*.

It is most likely that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg had vassals before they arrived in Ayr, for many true vassals hold that they have immigrated from the traditional homeland of their noble lords. However, there are in Ayr also certain tribes which have lost their noble status and become a kind of vassals owing to having been subdued in fairly recent wars.

THE KEL GERES DRUM-GROUP

There is no class-division of so-called noble Tuareg and vassals among the *Kel Geres*. In this respect they differ from most other Tuareg groups except for the *Kel Ewey* among whom a division into classes of this kind has ceased to exist – probably because the *Kel Ewey* have mixed with the sedentary negroid population of the Ayr villages. In *Kel Ewey* certain tribes are more important than others, but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

the *Al-Kadi*. In this respect the position of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is similar to that of drum-chiefs among the Ayr Tuareg, and though the present drum-chief says that the *Kel Geres* were never divided into noble and vassal tribes, he nevertheless claims that part of any war-booty taken by *Kel Geres* Tuareg in the past should be given to the drum-chief who had the right to *témaggedaz* and *tévit* (cf. p. 428). The drum (*ettebel*) of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is akin to drums of other Tuareg chiefs. The drum must not touch the ground, but the drum-chief did not believe that its power would be spoilt were it to be touched by women.

THE KEL ADRAR

The *Kel Adrar* are very superficially described in literature, but their political system has been outlined by Cortier. They constitute only one drum-group under the leadership of an *Amenukal* who is the possessor of the drum (*ettebel*). The class-division is rather similar to that of most other Tuareg groups. There are certain vassal tribes (*Imrad*) and certain noble tribes though the latter are not considered noble in the usual sense. They are known as proper *Ifoyas* Tuareg and they are to be grouped rather with the *Inesleman* class than with the proper noble class termed *Ihaggaren* or *Imajeran*. However, their position within the drum-group is almost identical with that of noble Tuareg in other groups. The *Amenukal* is elected according to patrilineal rules being succeeded by his younger brothers and next by his sons, but the vassal tribes do not participate in the election. Within the drum-group there are many smaller divisions of noble families who have their individual vassals, so that from any vassal tribe there are always certain families living in the camp of a noble lord to work for him and to guard his domestic animals. A noble Tuareg can also claim what he wants from his particular vassals while on the other hand the vassals do not pay any fixed tribute to the noble chiefs, not even to the *Amenukal*. The power of the *Amenukal* is a very limited one, and his position is mainly determined by his personal qualities (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 274 ff.).

THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL DENNEK

The *Kel Denneg*, that is the *Eastern Iwillemmeden* around Tawa, have been described in detail by Nicolas who, however, is not very clear as to particulars. Apart from the class of *Inesleman* the *Kel Denneg* Tuareg are divided into the classes of noble Tuareg (*Imazaran*) and vassal Tuareg (*Imrad*, or *Kel Ulli*). These vassal Tuareg are politically attached to four drum-groups (*ettebel*) in which the drum-chief is elected from a noble tribe according to patrilineal rules. One of these drum-groups has a leading position, as its chief with the title of *Amenukal-n-akal* is the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Denneg* group known as *tégezi*. In addition to his drum this supreme chief (*Amenukal-n-akal*) has a burgee or flag to be used in case of a holy war and on certain ceremonial occasions such as the installation of an *Amenukal*. This flag is made of silk and is given, blue, and red in colour. The title *Amenukal* is

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *ẓiuse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaḳa* or *tamessadeḳ* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Ḳadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

The *Kel Ataràm* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchar*) and vassals (*Imrad*, sing *Amerid*, or *Daṛa*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amṛar*, but all important decisions are made by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:— Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525

The political supremacy of the nobility is founded upon conquest and has become hereditary, but this supremacy can be lost. If a vassal tribe conquers a noble tribe the rôles may change, and though this has not yet happened the principle is considered valid by all Tuareg. The vassals pay an annual tribute to the noble Tuareg. A noble Tuareg can take what he likes from a vassal, but his rights depend upon his strength, just as the tributes paid by vassals depend upon the strength of their noble lords. A noble tribe must protect its vassals against other noble tribes. Chiefs of both noble and vassal Tuareg tribes have the title of *Amenukal*, and this title is hereditary. The power of the supreme noble chief (the *Amenukal*) is such that he cannot kill obstinate subjects. But he can thrash them and even wound them, and he can seize their property. There may be more than one candidate when a chief is elected, and this may lead to severe quarrels and even to the division of the tribe (cf. Aymard 1911, p. 37 ff.).

Mangsot & Marty in their study of the Niger Tuareg mention that even in pre-European times certain tribes of vassal status had no particular duties towards noble tribes. They also state that the relationship between noble and vassal Tuareg was breaking down shortly after the French occupation of the country. The traditional *tiwsé* payments made by vassals to their noble lords differed much from one tribe to the other. Certain vassal tribes gave only one container with butter annually (Mangeot & Marty 1918, p. 258, 461). The chief *Amdey* of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* informed that the *tiwsé* payments, which were abolished long ago, were always insignificant. They were made in goats and butter. The chief also said that originally the *Imrad* tribes had no camels.

THE ORIGIN OF TUAREG POLITICAL SYSTEMS

We see from the description above that Tuareg political systems bear resemblances to one another in most groups. The largest political unit is the group under the leadership of a supreme chief, generally known as the *Amenukal*, or as *Amenukal-n-akal* in the *Iwllemmeden* groups where the title *Amenukal* is used also for minor chiefs. The *Amenukal* of a political group is also the chief of a so-called drum-group within the larger political group, though in Ayr the *Amenukal* is identical with the Sultan of Agadez. We may say that the political group known among the Northern Tuareg as *tégehé*, in the *Iwllemmeden* groups as *tégezé*, has a central government consisting of the *Amenukal*, his deputies, and a council. And it is clear that the *Amenukal* everywhere was considered the supreme chief with superior judicial rights and also the war-leader of the whole group. But the authority of an *Amenukal* was in all groups a very limited one, and quarrels between the various drum-groups of a federation were very common everywhere.

The most important political unit of Tuareg political systems was in fact the drum-group. Its chief was always a most important person. In most groups he was elected mainly by the vassals, and he was not an absolute monarch, though normally he could obtain the support of most vassals to quell internal insurrections. Within the drum-group the drum-chief was the highest judicial and military authority, and it was he who had to regulate all relations between noble and vassal Tuareg within the drum-group. Other noble Tuareg, e.g., the *temajlayt* masters, within the drum-group had no

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief, whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division, which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imrad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imrad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, donkeys are marked in both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found particularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

with the immigration of the noble *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes which were, perhaps, related to the northern *Hawwara* Berbers. These may have influenced also the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg who possess some of the traits common to Northern Tuareg and Arabs. The *Hawwara* tribes came under Arab influence at very early stage, and they may have adopted Arab traits before they migrated southwards to settle close to the veiled *Lemta* (cf. p. 409 f.).

It is evident that the origin of pastoral political systems dates back to pre-Islamic times, but it is also very clear that political organization has been much influenced by Islam and the Arabs. With Islam and the Arabs came into political life such important classes as the *Ineslemen*, the *Echchikhen*, and the *Ichcherifen*, which has made the political organization more complex. Also introduced with Islam was the *sadakat* fee, which in its origin was a purely religious payment. It is also clear that the rules of blood-wealth payment among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 102) were introduced with Islam, for the Arabs of Northern Sahara, like the Northern Tuareg, give one hundred she-camels for a slain man, and the same payment is fixed by learned Islamic jurists (cf. Schram-Nielsen 1945, p. 58 f.). These rules of blood-wealth payment do not seem to have been accepted among the Ayr Tuareg where there was no fixed amount of camels to be paid for a homicide. Finally the title *Khalifa* given to tribal deputies was doubtless introduced with Islam and the Arabs. This title is used among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*.

The problems connected with the origin of the drum-group, the most important political group, are very complicated. It is well known that the drum plays an important part as an insignia of kings and other supreme chiefs over large parts of Africa. The distribution of the drum as an insignia of kings and chiefs has been studied in some detail by Schilde and Wieschhoff, and later by Irstam (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 117 ff.; Wieschhoff 1933, p. 119 ff., map 34; Irstam 1944; p. 28, 101 ff.). Wieschhoff points out that the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in Africa, and that it mainly has this particular function in state organizations of the so-called Erytrean Cultures.

The drum which constitutes the insignia of a Tuareg drum-chief is known as *ettebel* or *effebel*. In all Tuareg groups this word is also used for "drum-group", and among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* it is also a title of drum-chiefs. The word *ettebel* is undoubtedly derived from the Arabic word *tobol* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1922), which is also sometimes used for Tuareg drums as it is for drums of chiefs among the Western Moors (Dubié 1947, p. 173). Formerly, the Sultan of the Fezzan also had a drum which according to Lyon was known as *tubbel*. Lyon never saw a drum of this kind but he says that they are found in all towns south of Murzuk (Lyon 1821, p. 248 f.). The drums used by Tuareg chiefs are always of a very particular form, generally known to anthropologists as "the kettle-drum", and this particular drum among the Tuareg is never used by persons other than the chiefs. For ordinary music the Tuareg have other drum types or use a wooden mortar suspended by a piece of skin. It is most interesting that the so-called kettle-drum is a very late type among the many kinds of drums found in Africa.

In regard to the distribution of kettle-drums in Africa, Sachs says that they are found in Islamic North Africa, in the Sudan, and in North-East Africa (Sachs 1929, p. 247). According to Wieschhoff kettle-drums have a more limited distribution being found only in the Sudan and in North-East Africa including Ethiopia (Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40, map 29e). As to the distribution of kettle-drums outside

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

602 However, the Tuareg say, a man can complain in very extreme cases when sons or sister's sons constantly take animals from him. I have met several Tuareg who have lost many animals taken by sons and sister's sons. One Tuareg had lost seven camels, taken by his oldest son, who had sold them. The Tuareg was very annoyed about this but he had not complained about it directly to his son. The old drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group was constantly complaining to me about his sisters' sons, who took his animals so that he could not leave so large a fortune to his son. He openly called his sisters' sons "thieves", but as far as I know he did not complain about it to them. I was also told in Ayr that the fact that a man could take animals from herds and flocks of his true mother's brothers would not normally lead to conflict between them. Some Ayr Tuareg said that they were as fond of their sisters' sons as they were of their own children. It can be added that if a man has taken many animals from a mother's brother the latter's son may perhaps be able to retaliate as he has the right to take belongings from this man, who is his cross-cousins.

(6) As the last characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour it may be mentioned that, among certain Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, it is normal for a man to inherit the kinship status of his parents on their death, in the way that he adopts their joking relationships with their classificatory cross-cousins, but he will never inherit a joking relationship with the true cross-cousins of his deceased father and mother.

The above-mentioned rules of kinship behaviour seem traditional to Tuareg social organization and very different from those considered valid among the Arabs. The social systems of Tuareg and Arabs are on the whole most disssimilar, but nevertheless the Arabs and the Tuareg of to-day have exactly the same rules of inheritance which follow Koranic law. It is evident that these rules have been introduced among the Tuareg owing to contact with the Arabs who brought Islam to North Africa. It is very difficult to determine when the Tuareg adopted Islamic inheritance rules, and also to learn about their pre-Islamic inheritance system.

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●634 643 In regard to Tuareg rules of succession there can be no doubt that the matrilineal principle was originally recognized in all groups, but the patrilineal principle has been introduced into certain groups owing to Arab influence. The Tuareg who have adopted patrilineal succession are notably the two groups of *Iwllemmeden*, the *Kel Adrar*, and Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class in various groups (cf. Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.; 1950a, p. 213). In fact we know that the *Iwllemmeden* adopted patrilineal succession as early as in the 17th century (cf. Richer 1924, p. 3, 52; Nicolas 1950a, p. 54 f.), and patrilineal succession is undoubtedly also of great age among the *Kel Adrar*, where the dominant tribes belong to the *Ineslemen* class. As to the two important groups of Southern Tuareg, the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, Nicolas states that succession among them is matrilineal, as it is in Ahaggar (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.), and matrilineal succession is also mentioned as traditional to the Ayr Tuareg by Rodd (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). I have not been able to confirm these statements during my investigations among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. All people questioned in these two groups claimed that the proper successor to chieftainship would be the deceased chief's son, though it was admitted among the Ayr Tuareg that a sister's son might be elected chief if considered better fitted for this position than a son. It would be correct to state that both the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* to-day acknowledge the patrilineal principle of succession, but it is not quite certain when they

[119]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

adopted this rule. There can be little doubt that it was introduced among them owing to contact with other people, perhaps with the *Ineslemen* Tuareg. The *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, like other Tuareg, once in the past followed matrilineal rules of succession, for this is proved by history and tradition.

It is frequently stated in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the sister's son is the first in the line of succession. As early as Ibn Batutah it is mentioned that among a Southern Tuareg people known as *Mesufa* a man was inherited by his sister's son, and he also states that the Sultan of Tecadda (possibly Tegidda-n-edrar immediately south of the Ayr Massif) was succeeded by his sister's son (Ibn Batutah IV, p. 388, 443). Rodd states concerning Ayr that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and refers to the fact that this rule has often been followed at the election of sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). According to Barth, a sister's son was preferred as chief in Ayr and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 374 f.). In the case of the Tuareg of Ghat (Rat) (Tasilé-n-Ajjer), Richardson states that the chiefs and sultans are succeeded by their sister's sons (Richardson 1848, II, p. 65 f.), and for the Northern Tuareg in general we have Duveyrier's statement that this principle was valid not only for succession to chieftainship, but also for rights to blood-wealth, which should be given to a slain man's sister's son. It is very remarkable that Duveyrier also relates in detail a Tuareg myth about the origin of the sister's son's right to succession (Duveyrier 1864, p. 356, 397 ff.). Again, we find that among the Tuareg of Ahnet (the Ahaggar Tuareg), a chief should be succeeded by his full brother or a maternal half-brother, and then by his sister's son (Bissuel 1888, p. 23). Most *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg have long ago adopted patrilineal succession and Ḳoranic rules of inheritance, but matrilineal traits are found in certain tribes of the *Kel Ataram* group. Gaalon states that the Tuareg of the Cercle de Dori (within the Niger Bend) even follow matrilineal rules of inheritance in the way that a deceased man's sister's son comes first in the line of inheritors. A woman will not generally possess any big fortune – apart from the dowry which on her death goes back to her parents or their family (Gaalon 1939, p. 232). An interesting matrilineal custom is also mentioned from the *Kel Ataram* by Feral. He states that property considered indivisible is still inherited by a sister's son in certain vassal tribes around Gao (Feral 1955, p. 21 f.). During my visit to camps of *Bélla* and noble Tuareg near Ayoru on the Niger I was also able to collect evidence to the existence of matrilineal traits in the *Kel Ataram* group. *Bélla* men informed me that a powerful sister's son among the *Imṛad* or vassal tribes would be able to inherit his mother's brother, and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Tahabanat* tribe claimed that vassals even to-day practise matrilineal inheritance the sister's son being the intestate successor. But all other pastoralists in the region of Ayoru but the vassals follow patrilineal rules of succession and Ḳoranic rules of inheritance.

We see that a sister's son even to-day may have inheritance rights among the South-western Tuareg, and the sister's son's right of succession is confirmed by many authors for several Tuareg groups. However, there are also in literature statements that a sister's son comes next to a maternal cousin in the line of succession. This is claimed in the case of the Ahaggar Tuareg by Benhazera (Benhazera 1908, p. 51, 97 f.), by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 152 f., II, p. 916 f.), and by Lhote, who refers to Benhazera's statement (Lhote 1955, p. 189). Furthermore, Dubief has explicitly stated that the priority of maternal cousins is acknowledged by the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Dubief 1956, p. 89), and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

634 643 [114] Nicolas says that a maternal cousin is the first in line of succession, not only among the Northern Tuareg, but also among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). This, however, is not correct. I have been told by many Tuareg in Ahaggar that a maternal cousin is the proper successor next to a brother of the deceased chief, and genealogies seem to intimate that a maternal cousin has more frequently been elected chief than has a sister's son. Nevertheless, Ahaggar Tuareg, whom I consider extremely versed in traditional custom, claim the priority of a sister's son. In connection with Duveyrier's statement this makes me believe that the Northern Tuareg originally preferred sister's sons to succeed as chiefs, while preference to maternal cousins is a custom more recently adopted.

591 768 586 The rules of residence have been outlined in a previous chapter (cf. p. 142 ff.), and I have mentioned that in Ahaggar residence is based upon both the patrilocal and the matrilocal principle as follows:— A man remains with his father after marriage, but after his father's death he joins the camp of his mother and her brothers to live with his matrilineal relatives. A woman after marriage moves to her husband's camp. At her husband's death she will return to her father's camp, and if her father be dead she will join the camp of her mother and her mother's brothers. In case of a divorced woman the same rule is observed, but the children of a divorced couple belong to the father, and stay in his camp as long as he is alive. After his death they belong to the camp where their mother lives. However, the Ahaggar Tuareg sometimes dispense with this rule in case husband and wife belong to different classes or castes (cf. p. 22). It may even happen that children of a dissolved marriage, where husband and wife come from the same class or caste, grow up with their mother – particularly if, when the divorce takes place, the children are so small that they need their mother's care. On the whole, however, the Ahaggar Tuareg follow the rules of residence indicated above, and we have already seen that these particular rules are strongly supported by the authority of the *Amenukal*. The same practise [178] was perhaps once also followed by the Ayr Tuareg, but, as we have seen (p. 152 f.), in the *Kel Ferwan* group there is nowadays a strong tendency for a man to remain with his patrilineal kinsmen after his father's death. The rules of residence do not play a very important part to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg nowadays. The political unit of the drum-group has very little practical value, economic and political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals have disappeared, and there are no land rights to which certain individuals succeed.

582 In the light of what has been said so far about Tuareg social organization, we shall now consider their traditional rules of marriage. Preferential marriage is that with a cross-cousin; the very best is to marry a mother's brother's daughter, but father's sister's daughter is also considered a suitable choice. An exchange of spouse between two family groups is considered most excellent. It is thus considered ideal for brothers of family A to marry sisters of family B, for brothers of family B to marry sisters of family A.

If Ego marries a classificatory cross-cousin it seems preferably for him to marry one of his mother's [143] family. This is intimated by a custom connected with marriage in Ahaggar:— At the beginning of the wedding ceremony a pair of sandals should be given to the man who does not marry the bride though traditionally possessing a sort of prior entitlement to do so. Such men are:— (1) the bride's father's sister's son; (2) the bride's father's mother's sister's daughter's son; (3) the bride's father's father's brother's daughter's son.